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*The American*

# FEDERATIONIST

LABOR'S MAGAZINE

## Act on Taft-Hartley, George Meany Urges

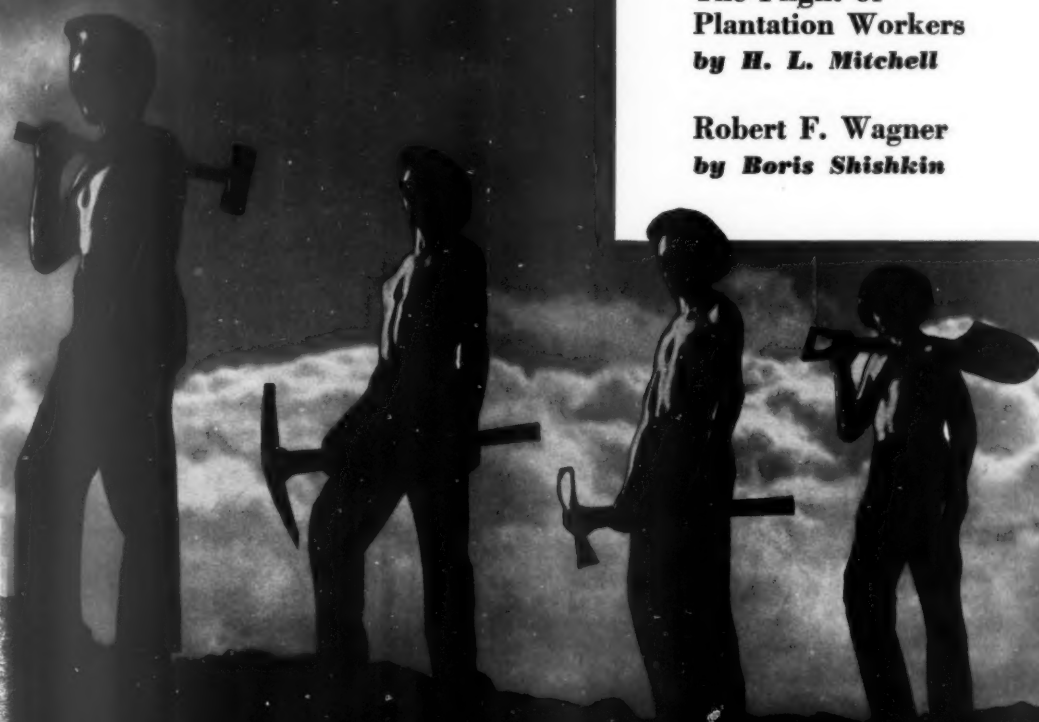
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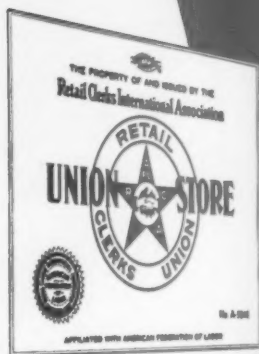
**The I.L.O.'s  
Industrial Committees  
by George P. Delaney**

**Last Chance to Save  
Rent Control  
by Bert Seidman**

**The Plight of  
Plantation Workers  
by H. L. Mitchell**

**Robert F. Wagner  
by Boris Shishkin**





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SHOPPER



**DEMAND THE UNION LABEL**

# The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

MAY, 1953

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 60, No. 5

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## Forward!

The toiling masses of America have few traditions of old, as have the toilers of older countries and older civilizations, but in our own America we have emerged from a condition of servitude to an understanding of the sovereignty of citizenship, of the equality of opportunity which must come to the great toiling masses of America.

We do not becloud our minds nor do we fool ourselves as to the obstacles which are being thrown across our pathway of progress. On the contrary, we understand the designs—and those who carry the designs into effect—to weaken the spirit or crush the hopes of American labor for absolute freedom.

We understand them and their purposes just as keenly as they do, and we are just as ready—and perhaps much more so—than are the antagonists of the rightful cause and course of the American labor movement.

We shall go onward and forward, *free men*, as ordained by God and by nature and as declared in that sacred document, the Declaration of Independence, and rooted in the Constitution of the United States.

We are men and women created with certain inalienable rights, the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and we are now more determined than ever that the men of toil shall not be depicted by that wonderful painting, "The Man with the Hoe."

This American labor movement, organized as it is, believes in the great principles enunciated in that world-famed, historic and sacred document, and we are not in a mood to have those rights and those principles, guaranteed to us by our Constitution, taken from us by any subtle reasoning or assumption of power, no matter whence it emanates.

Samuel Gompers, 1922.

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# The PLIGHT of PLANTATION WORKERS

By H. L. MITCHELL

*President, National Agricultural Workers Union*

**N**EARLY 100 delegates representing governments, employers and workers of thirteen nations met recently at Havana to consider the plight of workers on the plantations of the world. The conference was the second held by the International Labor Organization's Committee on Work on Plantations.

The United States had not been represented at the first meeting of the Committee on Work on Plantations, which was held at Bandung, Indonesia, in 1950. However, at the Havana meeting there was a tripartite delegation present from the United States. As we listened to the conditions imposed upon the plantation workers of the colonial areas of the world, we all felt that the agricultural economy in our country is further advanced, although many of the economic and social conditions affecting agricultural workers are similar.

As we heard the delegates from Asia, Africa, the East Indies and Latin America present their problems, we realized that similar conditions existed in the Southern part of the United States twenty years ago when that part of our country was dependent on a single cash crop—cotton, sugar cane or tobacco. At that time both employers and workers on the land were struggling to earn a living from crops that could not be sold in the world market at a price that would provide a decent living for either.

Just before the Havana meeting began, the plantation workers met in a two-day conference sponsored by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and its regional organization, the O.R.I.T. In addition to calling for the building of strong trade unions among plantation work-

ers, the I.C.F.T.U. conference considered economic factors governing wages and working conditions of such agricultural labor. The workers adopted a program calling for direct representation and establishment of fair labor standards under the various international agreements which are made in reference to production and distribution of basic commodities.

Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor had approved a resolution along these lines, we advanced this idea in the I.C.F.T.U. meeting and went into the I.L.O. conference with an agreement that the workers' group would seek to bring this matter to the attention of the International Labor Organization.

The delegates from India reported that a minimum-wage law had been adopted in their country following the I.L.O. meeting at Bandung and the adoption of conventions on wage-fixing in agriculture by the general sessions of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, but it had been impossible to put into effect the minimum wage order due to the falling prices of tea, rubber and other commodities produced in India.

The employer representatives at the I.L.O. meeting in Havana were bitterly opposed to worker participation in international conferences on commodity agreements. They apparently felt that plantation workers' wages should be tied directly to the market price received by the owner. The meeting adopted a resolution requesting the Governing Body of I.L.O. to have a report made on this matter for consideration at the next session of the Committee on Work on Plantations.

The definition finally adopted says

that a "plantation" is a commercial agricultural undertaking in subtropical or tropical regions. The list of plantation products includes nearly every major commodity grown in the Southern and Southwestern parts of the United States. If this definition of a plantation is accepted by the International Labor Organization, it should be further extended to include all commercial agriculture throughout the world, with perhaps regional conferences and committees called together to consider special problems, such as those of plantation workers in Asia, Africa, etc.

It is my understanding that, while there is a Permanent Committee on Agriculture in the I.L.O., this committee is composed mainly of experts and is not a representative committee. It therefore appears to me that, in order to deal with problems affecting agricultural workers throughout the world, the above suggestions for a representative committee on agriculture might well be advanced in the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization.

It was apparent at the Havana meeting that the employer representatives from the United States are men of social vision as compared with their counterparts from Asia, Africa and South America. The owners and managers of the colonial empires of tea, coffee, rubber and sugar cane appear to have learned little in the 300 years since the plantations were first started. This was illustrated by their total lack of concern toward improving production methods and sharing the results of increased productivity with their workers.

Some of the delegates representing governments (*Continued on Page 28*)

# Amend Taft-Hartley Act Now, George Meany Urges Congress

## A. F. of L. President Tells Senate Committee Why Changes in Law Are Needed Without Delay

**T**HE NEED for drastic revision of the Taft-Hartley Act at this session of Congress was emphasized by President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor when he testified a few days ago at a public hearing conducted by the Senate committee handling labor-management legislation.

If defense spending is reduced and unemployment results, Mr. Meany warned, the high standards which have been created by American workers will be in jeopardy unless the unfair, anti-labor features of the Taft-Hartley Act are off the books.

The president of the American Federation of Labor proposed many changes in the statute which the trade union movement has found, from experience, are necessary. Mr. Meany conceded that the recommended changes would make the Taft-Hartley Act resemble the original Wagner Act but, he underscored, "in much better form."

The A. F. of L. leader told the Senators he was not in accord with the recent suggestion of John L. Lewis, president of the unaffiliated United Mine Workers of America, that Congress should repeal both the Taft-Hartley Act and the Wagner Act.

"I'm opposed to that," Mr. Meany declared. "The strong unions would not need the law. But the weaker unions certainly would. And the great mass of unorganized workers would be helpless without a law spell-

ing out their right to organize. I'm for full freedom for workers and for full freedom for employers, but we do need some ground rules for fair play."

Mr. Meany also made clear that he did not endorse a recommendation by Walter Reuther, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, for the dumping of all national emergency disputes in the lap of Congress.

In regard to national emergency disputes, Mr. Meany urged:

(1) That the definition of what constitutes such disputes should be sharply narrowed to exclude all but real emergencies.

(2) That permanent conciliators be assigned to year-around service in industries where work stoppages might precipitate national emergencies.

(3) That fact-finding procedures be employed to help focus public opinion on the merits of such disputes.

(4) That eighty-day Taft-Hartley injunctions be eliminated.

(5) That the government seek to prevail upon both labor and management to agree to permanent voluntary arbitration procedures in key industries but that compulsory arbitration be shunned.

Several members of the Senate Labor Committee expressed agreement with Mr. Meany's proposals but indicated that in their opinion further action was necessary to protect the public interest.

In reply to them, the president of

the American Federation of Labor said:

"The minute you start to take away the rights of a worker on the ground of paramount public interest, you raise the question that if the industry is so important that individual rights should be suppressed, the public should own that industry.

"You raise the question that if the industry is so important to the public interest, the owners should not have the right to make a profit.

"Once you take away one person's rights to protect another person's rights or to protect the state, you invite fascism. And it should be remembered that Mussolini handed out the castor oil treatment indiscriminately, both to workers and employers."

In appealing for prompt action by Congress on revision of the Taft-Hartley Act, Mr. Meany said:

"We would like to see action at this session of Congress if possible. I know there are some people who would like to leave the law as it is, to maintain the status quo. But there is a possibility of a cutback in defense expenditures. It could bring unemployment that would be cumulative. That would mean a changing picture in the labor market.

"We might get competition of the worst kind—competition among employers to lower standards. Then this law would really hurt. And I want to emphasize that you can't hurt unions without hurting the country."



President Meany, in his appearance before the Senate Labor Committee, discussed the serious subject—amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act—in a serious manner. However, there was an occasional light moment during the course of the day

Mr. Meany recommended that the damage suit provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act should be abolished. These provisions, he told the Senate committee, have encouraged resort to the courts rather than to the bargaining table.

The A. F. of L. leader emphasized that a number of the provisions in the Taft-Hartley Act affecting election procedures have been shown by experience to be unfair. He called for corrective changes. Mr. Meany urged that economic strikers rather than replacements should be permitted to vote in NLRB elections. He recommended that the so-called "employer free speech" provision should be amended to prevent employers from interfering with the rights of their employees.

Pointing out that the Taft-Hartley Act has made illegal both the full union shop and the union shop with preferential hiring, the accepted forms of union security in a large number of important industries, Mr. Meany said that Congress should reestablish authority of labor and employers to enter into full union shop agreements.

He assailed the provision of the Taft-Hartley Act under which state "anti-closed shop laws" are elevated above the federal statute. This provision, said the head of the A. F. of L., has constituted an abandon-

ment of a fundamental federal responsibility where federal jurisdiction prevails and has served to disrupt collective bargaining in companies with plants in many states.

In his appearance before the Senate Labor Committee, the president of the American Federation of Labor said:

"Our views regarding the nation's labor law are not partisan. Our recommendations to this Congress contain no political overtones. The rights and responsibilities of free labor in a free society are the central issue in the present world crisis. We believe it is the duty of this Congress to devise a bipartisan labor policy for the United States. It is our hope that this Congress will enact labor legislation above party differences, a labor law behind which all fair-minded Americans can unite.

"A labor law which, instead of promoting labor-management peace, serves to instigate and prolong strife, is a dangerous law. As the leader of the free world, as the torch-bearer of the ideas and ideals of freedom in the present world crisis, America cannot afford the onus and the burden of such a law.

"To meet our international responsibilities and to safeguard our national security, we need unity in America. We need, above all, greater unity and greater cooperation between Ameri-

can business and American labor. This Congress can make a great contribution toward that objective by enacting a Labor-Management Law that will be acceptable to both sides. For the welfare of America as a whole, I ask you to give us a law under which employers and unions can live together and work together in peace and justice.

"Labor's basic purpose in industrial relations is to make sure that men and women whose livelihood depends on wages can, through their own mutual effort, safeguard the standards of their pay, their job status and their working conditions through binding agreements with their employers. Working people look to their government to hold inviolate their rights of self-organization and collective bargaining.

"To give these human rights full effect and full meaning and to harmonize them with the property rights and management prerogatives of business, as well as with the welfare of the whole community, must likewise be the guiding aim of government of a free nation."

Led by the chairman, Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, members of the committee praised Mr. Meany for his constructive presentation of the case for significant changes in the Taft-Hartley Act. Senator Robert A. Taft was absent.



# WAGES COME FIRST

By NANCY PRATT

**S**O YOU have a wife and kids to house and feed and clothe, and you work for wages to make a living? Is the wife asking you again about the rent money and mortgage payment? When you come home from work, do the kids hint about a summer vacation trip, or maybe you notice that they need new shoes?

In the long run, it comes right down to payday, doesn't it? And that's what makes the American economy go. Things that workers buy make up the greatest market that this country has for the goods and services that it produces.

What you find in your pay envelope is pretty important. Not only to you but to the man on the next machine, to the storekeeper down the street, the teacher in your kid's school—in fact, to the whole country.

But what's in that paycheck? Let's say you're an average factory worker. Government figures show that you earned \$71.42 a week before taxes. You worked 41 hours a week.

What are the chances that your paycheck will continue to give you enough to allow for the "extras" besides food and rent that will assure more goods being produced? In other words, what are the prospects that what you earn will help keep our economy going full tilt?

The long and steep rise in the cost of living has leveled off in recent months. Last month, after a small dip, consumer prices went up again just a bit—two-tenths of one per cent. Yet most of the inflationary force unleashed since the Communist attack on South Korea in 1950 has spent itself. The first signs of hesitation in the three-year upsurge of the economy have become apparent.

But, you ask, hasn't the new Administration been doing something to help keep the economy healthy and prosperous, to help make sure that jobs remain plentiful and paychecks stay full?

Well, the government has not gotten around to the development of a program that would help assure eco-

nomie stability in the future. What has been done thus far is likely to weaken, not strengthen, the workers' buying power.

Our economy was operating at record levels when the new Administration took over. Our production, employment and income were at all-time highs.

This may continue for some time. The President's proposals to stretch out defense spending will help prevent a sudden change. But some of the suggested new policies are likely to hurt, not help. The newly launched "economy" drive calls for cuts. And the proposed cutting is to be done where it hurts most.

For example, plans are under way to reduce expenditures for education and cut down on federal health and welfare programs. The reactionaries in control of Congress are not only against the idea of low-cost housing but have succeeded in eliminating the modest funds needed to help local communities provide as little as 35,000 housing units a year for families who cannot afford to live in decent homes.

In addition, mortgage loan rates have been increased. If you've been saving up to build your own home, you're going to have to pay more to the bank for the money you're borrowing. This means more money for the bankers.

The difference must be made up out of our buying power, the income of consumers.

But what's been happening to this buying power—the ability of your paycheck to buy the things you need? While productivity rose 13.2 per cent from 1949 to 1951, "real" factory wages (buying power) rose only 7 per cent in the same two-year period.

The average American worker is now using more machinery and applying more mechanical skill than he was forty years ago. With the help of improved machinery and more efficient organization of his time, he is producing more per man-hour of

work. Unions have seen to it that this increase in his productivity has been translated into higher pay and shorter hours of work. More money and more leisure time have meant more demand for more goods. This, in turn, has created more jobs and more pay for an increasing number of workers.

But are these wage gains coming to a halt? Not necessarily. As long as productivity is outrunning the rise in "real" earnings, workers should expect more money in their pockets.

Labor unions continue to be the chief protection a worker has against the employers' natural tendency to pay as low a wage as he can get away with. A new Department of Labor study reports that labor unions have been one of the major forces in improving the status of the worker. A major job of labor unions has been to insure that wage gains over the past few decades have kept pace with increasing productivity. It is the unions too that have helped close the gap between "real" wages and the rising cost-of-living.

Lags between the consumers' ability to buy and the factories' ability to produce are dangerous. In 1929 there was too great a gap between purchasing power and productivity. The price we paid for permitting this gap was the price of a devastating depression. Today the spread between buying power and productivity is, once more, dangerously widening.

The defense program has provided our country with plants and facilities which must be kept going if we are to maintain our purchasing power. As defense spending decreases in the next few years, the production of consumer goods must take up the slack. Civilian production for civilian consumers must replace work in the defense plants if workers now turning out defense orders are not to be thrown out of their jobs. There must be enough wage income to buy these new goods. If additional wage income is not (Continued on Page 31)



# Last Chance to Save Rent Control

By BERT SEIDMAN

A. F. of L. Staff Economist

## BOARD DELUGED BY TALES OF SKYROCKET RENT BOOSTS IN DECONTROLLED AREAS

200% INCREASES IN RENT REPORTED TO ORS

HEAVY RENT INCREASES REPORTED  
WHERE COUNCILS KILLED CONTROLS

TENANT'S RENT UP 500% AFTER DECONTROL

THESE were typical headlines when rent controls went off in 900 communities on September 30 of last year because their city councils had refused to request extension of federal rent controls until April 30, 1953.

Of course, very few tenants in decontrolled areas were faced with 500 per cent rent increases, but in many communities landlords' demands for doubled and even tripled rents were not at all uncommon. In Detroit, for example, some rents increased by more than 140 per cent. Tenants in Cleveland suburbs deluged nearby rent offices with more than 200 calls after being told by their landlords that rents were being raised by as much as 125 per cent. In Toledo increases ran up to 200 per cent. In Atlanta typical rent boosts were from \$20 to \$70 a month and from \$25 to \$100, the latter being a 300 per cent increase.

Low-income families have been hit hardest by rent increases wherever rent controls have been removed. In Los Angeles nearly nine out of every ten units occupied by low-income families had rent increases which averaged over 41 per cent. Of course, many families were faced with increases far more than the average. The same thing happened in many of the other cities where rents were decontrolled.

Now Congress has voted to kill federal rent controls on July 31 in all communities except a handful of areas in which military installations or atomic energy plants are located. In most of the areas where rent controls will go off on July 31, they are urgently needed to forestall skyrocketing rents.

The 1,300 communities where rent controls are now

in effect fall into two categories. They are either critical defense areas where there is an extreme housing shortage for workers who have moved into the area to do defense work; or they are areas which, prior to last September 30, certified either by action of their city council or by popular referendum that a substantial housing shortage existed requiring continuance of federal rent control.

The small amount of construction that might have taken place since the end of September obviously could not have alleviated the housing shortage in these communities. These areas have as great a need for rent control today as they did last fall.

The continued housing shortage in nearly all areas now under rent controls will permit landlords to demand heavy rent increases if rent controls are permitted to expire on July 31. Your landlord may demand that you pay twice or even three times your present rent; or you may be one of the "lucky" families whose landlord will be content with only a 25 per cent or 50 per cent increase. *Remember that a rent increase is the same as a wage cut.*

The way landlords have been demanding the abolition of rent controls, one would think that they have been losing money on their properties. Nothing could be further from the truth. The real estate lobby has tried to sell the line that rent controls have frozen rents. Landlords and their spokesmen have tried to create the impression that while other prices have increased, tenants are paying no higher rents now than they did at the beginning of World War II.

What is the actual situation? The rent control law permits landlords to charge 30 per cent more than 1947 rents. In addition, nearly all landlords who have claimed increased costs have been able to obtain substantial rent increases. Last year rent increases were granted for nearly 1,250,000 units, and the average increase was nearly 15 per cent. Certainly these figures do not indicate a rent freeze. On the contrary, close examination of some of the increases that the Office of Rent Stabilization has permitted reveals that many landlords have been able to obtain sizable rent increases, far greater than the amount necessary to compensate them for legitimate cost increases. (Continued on Page 27)

# Record Crowds See **UNION LABEL**



George Meany, William Schnitzer and other notables were on hand as the 1953 labor exposition was formally launched at Minneapolis

**T**HE MOST SUCCESSFUL of all Union Label Industries Shows thrilled record-smashing throngs which swept through the spacious Municipal Auditorium in Minneapolis last month. The mammoth labor-management exposition, sponsored by the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, attracted enormous crowds throughout its run.

Visitors to the show viewed a dazzling variety of fascinating and instructive exhibits. The American Federation of Labor exhibit had a commanding place and proved extremely popular. Exhibitors included scores of unions affiliated with the A. F. of L., renowned companies which operate on a strictly union basis, the Defense Department, the Labor Department, Labor's League for Political Education and the International Labor Organization.

It is with pride that we present a partial pictorial record of one of the foremost U.S. events of 1953.

Throngs were huge. Many who attended the show came from distant localities



THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST



George Meany (third from left) explains a feature of printers' type. Secretary Schnitzler of A. F. of L. is second from left. At right is Raymond F. Leheney, secretary of Label Department



Teamsters' exhibit provided instruction and excitement for truck drivers of future

A voting machine is tested by an advocate of more political education for working people, A. F. of L.'s Bill Schnitzler



Visiting the International Labor Organization's booth are Firefighters John Redmond and George Richardson



[Turn to next page]

Showing how they make pottery, skilled union members were watched constantly by big crowds



A sailor tells heads of A. F. of L. the variety of labor skills required in nation's armed forces

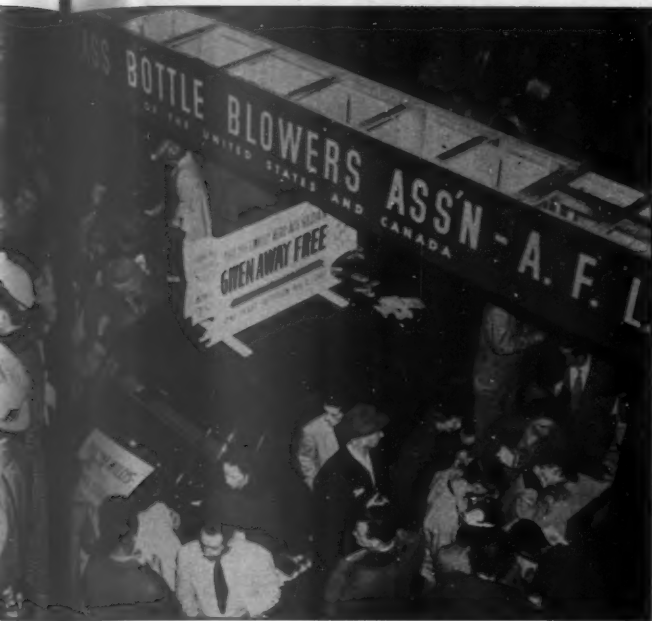


The Meat Cutters' exhibit was an extremely popular location. Valuable meat products went to citizens holding lucky numbers



To keep the throngs happy all through the long week, there was plenty of music in the Minnesota tradition





Almost everybody can use a new automobile, especially when it's free. So the crowds hopefully filled out the little cards

Somebody was giving something away everywhere one turned. Ladies are acting as if—whatever it may be—they want it



Happy kids at Railway Clerks' exhibit with George M. Harrison, president of the union



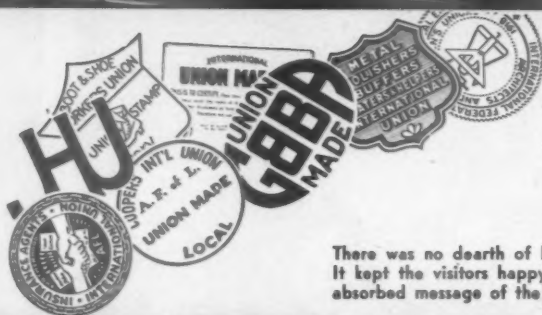
A moment of glee at the popular exhibit of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers



[Turn to next page]



Tremendous crowds surging through the auditorium had the privilege of seeing the only show of its kind in the world



Shopping bags are passed out by Retail Clerks' President Housewright. The bags were needed to carry merchandise gifts

There was no dearth of lively music. It kept the visitors happy while they absorbed message of the union label





Minnesota's Senator Humphrey (right) viewed the show and enjoyed it. With him here is LL.P.E.'s Glen Slaughter

'Live' exhibits had potent appeal. Here a member of the Carpenters' Union performs one of his craft's operations



President Mara of Boot and Shoe Workers was present to tell about the union's stamp



Visitors from everywhere manifested keen interest in A. F. of L. literature



# EDITORIALS

*by George Meany*

## *For the Post-Defense Era*

AMERICA will not be adequately prepared for peace, and the changing economic conditions that peace will bring, unless Congress revises the Taft-Hartley Act promptly and thoroughly. We hope Congress will bear this in mind and refuse to heed the big business interests who are satisfied with the law as it is and want to maintain the status quo.

It should be remembered that the full force and effect of many provisions of the Taft-Hartley law have not as yet been put into operation simply because of the tight labor market that has prevailed since its enactment. Even hostile employers have avoided making their plants a battleground for testing such provisions at a time when labor is scarce and replacement of skilled union workers extremely difficult.

But if defense expenditures are cut back in the near future, as seems likely, the nation may once again be faced with unemployment. And we know that unemployment has cumulative effects. When workers lose their jobs and can't buy what they need, other workers are laid off because the factories can't sell their products.

If that happens, we may see a new kind of competition in American industry—competition to tear down standards, instead of to improve them. The Taft-Hartley Act in its present form would prove a powerful weapon to those who might want to engage in that kind of destructive competition. Unions, especially the weaker ones, would be hurt. And in this day and age, when

unions are hurt the nation is bound to suffer. The American standard of living will be jeopardized.

This is the big post-emergency danger which the American Federation of Labor is convinced Congress can help to avoid by acting at this session on vital Taft-Hartley amendments.

## *The Submerged Oil Issue*

CONGRESSIONAL approval of legislation to turn over title to the offshore oil lands to the four "tidelands" states will not end the fight against this unjustifiable concession.

Undoubtedly, the legislation will be challenged in the courts, and it may take years before the issue is finally decided. Those who believe in federal ownership and development of these submerged oil lands for the benefit of all the American people may therefore take heart and keep up the good fight. If public opinion is aroused and makes itself manifest at the 1954 Congressional elections, the deal may still be stopped.

The prolonged Senate debate helped to focus public attention upon the issues and was not a true filibuster. On the contrary, the supporters of the Anderson-Hill amendments deserve public commendation for their gallant stand. These amendments provided for retention of federal title to the submerged oil lands and for distribution of a substantial part of the revenue from their development to all states for the purpose of financing better educational facilities and programs.

The American Federation of Labor supported the "Oil for the Lamps of Education" program



and still believes it is the best solution of the submerged oil controversy.

## *Immigration Policy*

PRESIDENT Eisenhower has asked Congress to enact emergency legislation to permit 240,000 refugees from Iron Curtain nations to enter this country in the next two years. Action of this kind is urgently necessary. The American Federation of Labor has long advocated that America assume its share of the responsibility of the free world toward these oppressed and displaced persons. We hope Congress will approve this humanitarian measure without delay.

A few days later, the President called upon Congress to examine the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act with respect to numerous complaints that it contains unfair and discriminatory provisions. In urging correction of any abuses that may be found, the President was carrying out a campaign pledge to the American people.

The McCarran-Walter Act accomplished a highly useful purpose in codifying past immigration laws and in tightening up restrictions against the entry of anti-democratic aliens. However, experience under the law has substantiated criticism of a number of its provisions.

Congress should move promptly to perfect this basic law.

## *Fingers Crossed*

MOSCOW is still talking peace, but the Communists are still playing dirty ball. It has been established that the Chinese Reds sneaked supply convoys into the line of trucks that delivered sick and wounded United Nations prisoners to Panmunjom, in order to gain protection from bombing. It has been charged by some of the liberated prisoners that they did not receive proper food or medical attention and were subjected to forced indoctrination courses while they were held by the Communists.

The invasion of Laos by Communist forces battling the French in Indo-China certainly is the opposite of a peaceful move.

And the reservations and conditions presented by the Communists in the resumed negotiations for a truce in Korea give no confirmation that the Kremlin peace propaganda is sincere.

If past experience were not enough, these recent developments provide further reason why the free world should keep its fingers crossed and its ammunition dry in any peace negotiations with the Communists that may be in the making.

## *The Spoils System*

PRESIDENT Eisenhower is entitled to pick his own "team." Squawks from Democratic holdovers, who don't take kindly to losing their government jobs, are to be expected. But when career employees are unjustifiably fired or forced to resign strictly for patronage purposes or because of other unjustifiable considerations, the public is entitled to suspect an attempt by the Republicans to revive the spoils system.

One case which aroused widespread indignation was the ouster of Dr. Allen V. Astin, Director of the Bureau of Standards, by his boss, Secretary of Commerce Weeks. The pretext was an adverse report by the Bureau on a battery additive. The result was an attack against the integrity of a scientific agency which enjoys the highest reputation in professional circles. A Congressional investigation of the case was averted only when Weeks reinstated Dr. Astin pending a check of the battery formula by a group of independent scientists.

Another hot eruption took place when Earl J. McGrath resigned as Federal Education Commissioner in protest against "indefensible" budget cuts which, he charged, would prevent his office from operating efficiently and "reduce the quality of education of American children." This is a serious charge. It cannot be tossed off lightly, as Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby of the new Department of Health, Education and Welfare tried to do.

She said the educational budget had been reduced only fractionally. But she forgot to mention that the Office of Education had spent large sums for projects directed by Congress but for which appropriations never were forthcoming. This leaves the educational arm of the government in a financial hole.

We hope that President Eisenhower will see to it that his subordinates comply more closely with the rules of propriety in such matters and wipe out all suspicion that the G.O.P. is merely out to cash in on the spoils of its election victory.



*From immigrant boy to U. S. Senator ...*

# ROBERT F. WAGNER

1877-1953

**T**HE door of the Executive Council Room, on the top floor of the A. F. of L. headquarters building in Washington, at last swung open and a group of men filed out into the hallway. An agreement had just been reached among them—an agreement that would soon touch the lives of Americans across the land.

It was late Spring, just twenty years ago. For forty months the country had been ravaged by the depression. The often-repeated promise that hard times would soon be over was no longer believed by the millions of jobless, the bankrupt, the homeless. The contrite assurance that "it is only a matter of confidence" had lost meaning. With ever-mounting unemployment, it was despair that was on the rise, not confidence.

The time for assurances had run out. It was time for *action*. The weary three-year debate over what to do had made one thing clear. To turn the tide of the great depression would take more than local action, more than state enactment. To do it was a common concern of every American and a task in which all would have to share.

A proposal calling for a thirty-hour workweek was formulated by the American Federation of Labor. Bills were introduced to enact this proposal into a federal law. Opposition from business was swift and violent.

An effort was made to get business and labor to agree on a broader recovery plan. The A. F. of L.'s thirty-hour week bill was used as a lever to get such an agreement. The

result was the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, with its codes of fair competition, prescribing minimum wages and maximum hours, industry by industry, by agreement of labor and management in each, and proclaiming the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing.

The blueprint of this law, the charter for America's recovery, was in the pocket of a short, stocky, round-faced man who came out of the Executive Council Room on that day in the Spring of 1933.

"So long, Bill. So long, Frank," he said, shaking hands with William Green and Frank Morrison, the miner and the printer who then headed the A. F. of L., before stepping into the

big, ungainly elevator to return to the Senate Office Building and get to work on the recovery proposal.

This unassuming man in a double-breasted suit, with his broad, ready smile that made his whole face twinkle, was Robert F. Wagner, then the junior Senator from New York. More than any other American in this century, Bob Wagner has helped to make our country a fairer, juster and better place in which to live.

IT WAS a wide-eyed eight-year-old German boy who stepped off the Castle Garden ferry in New York, back in 1885, clutching his father's big, calloused, farmer's hand and afraid of getting lost. As the immigrant family landed in the strange city, the importance of earning a living was brought home forcefully to little Robert. He soon understood that his older brother, August, who met them on their arrival in the New World, had to support the whole family of four until his father finally landed a janitor's job in an East Side tenement.

Young Robert Wagner grew up in the slums of the great city. He had it rough. He got up at 3 in the morning to cover his route delivering newspapers. He did odd jobs. Worked as a bellhop. In 1898 he was graduated from the College of the City of New York with an enviable academic record, attested by his Phi Beta Kappa key, and, remarkably, after also having starred as a quarterback on his college's team.

Two years later Robert won his law degree from the New York Law School. By 1904 he was elected to the New York State Assembly and by 1908 was in the State Senate.

Those were the years of the rising ferment and protest among New York workers against child labor, contract work and sweatshop conditions with which the city's industry was permeated. In 1911 needleworkers, locked up by an arbitrary boss in the loft of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, burned alive in the fire that swept the building. State Senator Robert Wagner helped focus public attention on the deep-seated conditions underlying the disaster. He was made chairman of a State Senate committee to investigate factory conditions throughout the state. The result was a set of laws providing for standards of factory inspection and regulation

of industrial safety and working conditions. These first "Wagner laws" were later used as models in the rest of the country.

Soon the immigrant boy who had become a State Senator in New York and the coal miner who was a State Senator in Ohio were at work, at about the same time, on legislation to compensate workers for injuries sustained on the job. Robert F. Wagner and William Green share the honors as being the founders of workmen's compensation in the United States. Wagner was also the author of the first proposal of an unemployment insurance law, which he advanced in 1911.

It was Robert Wagner's early belief, which experience constantly reinforced, that self-organization of workers into unions and their mutual protection through solidarity of union action and through collective bargaining were the most effective instruments for the betterment of the worker's lot.

In his private law practice he increasingly devoted attention to cases involving workers' rights. He won brilliantly several vital decisions affirming the rights of labor and notably one which practically outlawed

the notorious "yellow dog" contract in New York State.

From 1919 to 1926, Wagner served as a justice of the New York Supreme Court. In 1926 he was elected to the United States Senate, where began his unique record of legislation designed to advance the rights of workers and to secure the rights of man.

On the minority side under the Republican regime, Senator Wagner argued and fought doggedly, though unsuccessfully, for safeguards against mass unemployment, for unemployment relief and reliable unemployment statistics. He persevered. With A. F. of L. support, he pressed for a bill providing for collection and publication of comprehensive labor statistics by the Department of Labor. This was enacted into law in 1930.

His efforts in the early depression years were nearly successful with the passage by Congress of the Garner-Wagner bill to provide federal assistance to the unemployed. The bill passed both Houses, but it was vetoed by President Herbert Hoover. Senator Wagner was also the author of an important A. F. of L.-supported bill providing for an employment stabilization board to plan public works projects. This bill likewise

## President Meany's Tribute

The following statement was issued on May 5 by George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor:

Every working man and woman in the nation mourns the passing of Robert F. Wagner. For more than twenty years he was the great champion of social justice legislation in Congress. Before that he guided an unprecedented program of social reform through the New York State Legislature.

Bob Wagner was a true friend of the common man. He sponsored the National Industrial Recovery Act which helped rescue the nation from the worst depression in its history. He wrote the National Labor Relations Act, which became the Magna Charta of labor. He was responsible for the Social Security Act, which ended the dread of the poorhouse for those left destitute in old age. He started the drive for a national health insurance program, the next great social reform which America eventually will adopt.

Senator Wagner's career ended tragically when illness prevented him from carrying on the fight against amputation of the National Labor Relations Act by the Taft-Hartley Law. Labor can build no more fitting monument to his memory than the restoration of the true spirit and purpose of the N.L.R.A.



failed of enactment. It was in 1932 that Wagner successfully drove through his Relief and Construction Act which, for the first time, gave clear recognition of federal responsibility for the plight of the unemployed. The Wagner-Peyser Act, establishing a federal employment agency, was another victory for the Senator from New York.

In 1933 Wagner authored a series of far-reaching enactments aimed at turning the tide from depression to prosperity. In addition to the Recovery Act proper, he was also the author of the Public Works Bill which became Title II of the NIRA. His also was the program for the Emergency Relief Administration, the emergency farm mortgage refinancing system and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

His first and foremost concern was always with the rights of labor. Having authored the famous Section 7(a) of the NIRA in 1933, he was concerned about the lack of available means to enforce it and was anxious to learn for himself how it would work. In the Summer of that year he accepted the chairmanship of the first National Labor Board, the so-called "Wagner Board."

I remember vividly those hot and hectic days, when many stubborn disputes were resolved, not because there were any enforceable rules of law in effect but mainly through hard common sense and the persuasive personality of "the Senator" who chaired the hearings and exuded goodwill even-handedly upon both parties. As a matter of fact, four and a half months had elapsed before an executive order was issued formalizing this first Board and ratifying its previous actions.

As the nation's reemployment program was making progress, so was employers' opposition. In November, 1933, the N.A.M. fired a broadside at the Wagner Board. Then came the Weirton Steel and the Budd Manufacturing cases. It was clear that big employers wanted, above everything else, more of the good old company unions and more of the good old discrimination against unions—as in the good old days.

In the face of this, Senator Wagner introduced, in March, 1934, the first comprehensive Wagner bill which foreshadowed the later Wagner Act. Under a concerted attack of employ-

ers, however, this bill had to be replaced by a much simpler Public Resolution No. 44, which became law on June 19, 1934, providing for a statutory labor board or boards and authorizing the holding of representation elections.

Under this authority, the first National Labor Relations Board was established, under the chairmanship of the brilliant dean of the Wisconsin Law School, Lloyd K. Garrison. It was Garrison's historic opinion in the Houde case that laid the foundation for the eventual resolution of the basic issue of the majority rule, the key to industrial democracy.

In February, 1935, the Senator from New York introduced the so-called Wagner-Connery bill. In the hearings on this bill the N.A.M. staged a battle royal to save the company union and to weaken the guarantees of workers' rights. After an extended debate over the issues in and out of Congress, the Wagner Act finally became law on July 5, 1935. "Labor's Charter of Rights" was on the statute books for the first time in American history.

When the Wagner Act was enacted into law, it was not by any means a one-sided piece of legislation. The economic power of business was great and organized labor was weak. It was Wagner himself who reminded the Senate committee that "during the flowering of American enterprise between the World War and 1930, 40.7 per cent of the net income earned by all of the non-financial corporations in the country went to the 200 largest." The primary purpose of the Wagner Act was then, and still would be, the sound and proper purpose of a national labor relations law—to promote equality in the bargaining power between employers and employees and to diminish causes of labor disputes.

But Senator Wagner was the first to insist that his law was neither the last word nor a perfect piece of legislation. He repeated again and again that, from time to time, the law should be "perfected in the light of experience."

In 1947 the Wagner Act was amended to become the Taft-Hartley Law. The majority of the 1947 amendments were designed as punitive measures against unions. Today, in 1953, organized labor seeks to modify this law, not to return to the

original Wagner law but to return to the original Wagner purpose—a just law, perfected in the light of experience.

From his first days in the Senate, Robert Wagner sought the enactment of the main features of a comprehensive social security program. The framework of a nationwide unemployment insurance program later embodied in the law was in the bill Senator Wagner introduced in 1934. The Railway Retirement Act of 1934 and the later amendments improving it were also his handiwork.

The Social Security Act itself was brought to enactment as the result of Bob Wagner's ceaseless efforts. And he constantly sought to broaden and strengthen the concept of social security for all through subsequent proposals, including a national health bill he sponsored in 1939.

Next to labor's rights, closest to the heart of the man reared in the slums, was the objective of bringing good housing within the reach of every American family. After a three-year uphill battle, the Wagner-Steagall Act of 1937, known as the U.S. Housing Act, became law; largely due to the unstinting efforts of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates throughout the land. The work of slum clearance and of rehousing slum dwellers was begun, with a minimum of federal aid, by local housing authorities across the land. Thousands of families have been taken out of the slums and given an opportunity for a better life, self-respect and eventually complete self-reliance through this plan authored by Senator Wagner and put into effect by a team of his hard-working supporters.

Robert F. Wagner, the unassuming man, with a broad face familiar for its ready and kindly smile, worked persistently, patiently, sometimes ploddingly to make America a better, a more promising, a more meaningful place in which to live.

Some of his life's work has endured. Some has been damaged: the low-rent housing program is being scuttled right now. But this damage will be repaired. America's sense of justice, of fairness, her sense of right will overcome the wrong. It is up to us to help overcome it, and up to our children.

For we of labor are the keepers of Robert Wagner's faith.

—BORIS SHISHKIN.





A. F. of L. head addressing the New York City dinner



Danny Kaye congratulates Mr. Meany

## Testimonial Dinner Honors George Meany

**T**HE trade unionists of New York proudly honored President George Meany of the American Federation of Labor at a testimonial dinner on April 25. Leaders of labor and government were present to pay warm tribute to the one-time head of the New York State Federation of Labor who went on to Washington thirteen years ago as secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of L. and recently was elevated to the Federation's highest office.

Speaking at the dinner, which was held at the Hotel Commodore, President Meany warned that the United States must be prepared to meet the economic situation "if international conditions should call for a major cutback in defense spending."

"World peace may still be far away," Mr. Meany said, "but we must be ready for it. A sudden and com-

plete change in world conditions might have a dangerous impact on our economy. Let us remember that an economic collapse in the United States would prove just as welcome to the Communists as a military victory."

Acknowledging that some people doubt the ability of the nation to maintain a high level of prosperity in peacetime, the president of the American Federation of Labor said:

"I challenge that view. To my mind, we haven't begun to do in America what urgently needs to be done."

The country needs many things, he said, such as low-cost homes, modernized highways, new schools and more hospitals. These and other needed items can provide industry and labor with "plenty of work for years," Mr. Meany declared.

Secretary of Labor Martin P. Durkin and other notables also de-

livered addresses. Mr. Durkin said:

"I am humbly proud to be counted among the friends of George Meany. It is true that he bears both the honors and the responsibilities of one of the greatest positions that an American can earn—the presidency of the American Federation of Labor. But I feel sure that all of you will join with me in bestowing upon him his proudest title — 'George Meany, Our Fellow Trade Unionist.'"

Mr. Durkin emphasized that President Meany, throughout his career, "remained a student of trade unionism and never forgot the fundamental importance of trade union principles and trade union purposes."

Referring to President Meany as "one of our own," Mr. Durkin said:

"I need not trace for you his life's story, but if Providence has drawn a blueprint for the creation of a president of the American Federation of Labor, then his life has been patterned from that print."



*It took plenty of labor to build the TVA network of dams. This is Norris Dam in East Tennessee*

# TVA's Twentieth Birthday

*New factories, new jobs, fertile farms—  
solid prosperity in a vast region that used  
to be poor—vital power for the nation's defense—  
these and more are the achievements of the  
Tennessee Valley Authority since '33*



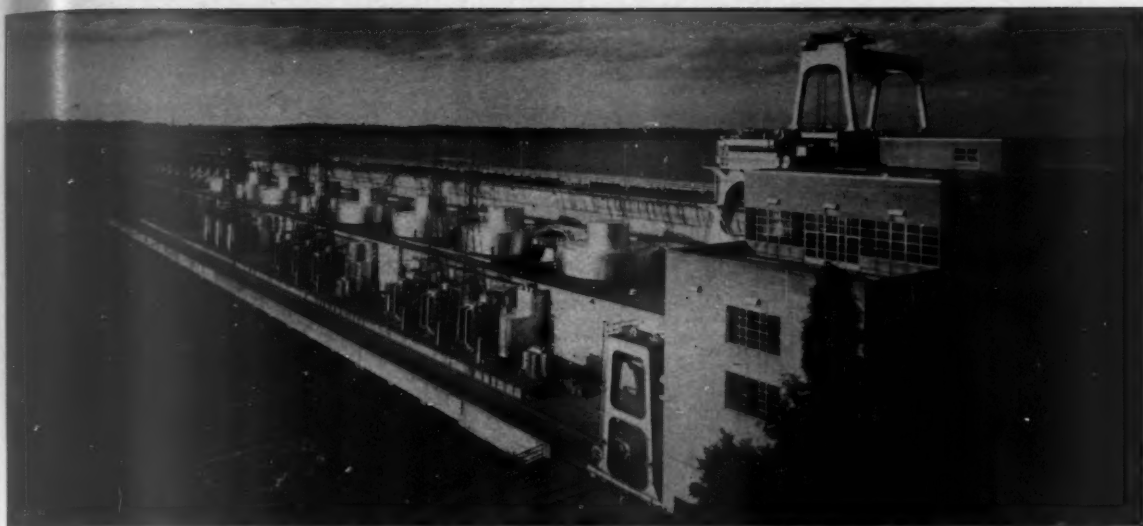
**T**HE Tennessee Valley Authority is celebrating its twentieth birthday this month, and no one is observing the anniversary with more enthusiasm than the working people of the vast area. The industrial expansion and economic benefits brought by TVA have been shared by all groups in the Valley, including more than 20,000 unionized workers who have played a substantial role in the tremendous strides made through the Authority.

Fourteen thousand of these workers are represented in collective bargaining by fifteen American Federation of Labor unions which make up the Tennessee Valley Trades and Labor Council. In addition, about 6,800 white-collar workers are represented by the Salary Policy Employee Panel, made up of six organizations, four of them A. F. of L.

Congressional committees have commended TVA for its excellent labor-management relations. These relations go far beyond bargaining for wages and salaries; they include close working arrangements in which ideas for improving the efficiency of the TVA are freely exchanged, examined and adopted.

Presidents Coolidge and Hoover vetoed TVA bills passed by Congress after legislative battles spearheaded by Senators George Norris of Nebraska and Kenneth McKel-

**Peril of floods  
is cut by TVA's  
control system**



*Electric power used for industry and defense, in the homes and on the farms is generated by TVA*

lar of Tennessee. But in 1933 a President friendly to the bold TVA idea was in the White House. A little more than two months after his inauguration, Franklin D. Roosevelt—on May 18 of that depression year of two decades ago—signed the bill which finally brought the Tennessee Valley Authority into existence.

What has TVA accomplished? Here are some of the highlights:

**Navigation.** Nine strategically placed dams have increased the Tennessee River's channel depth so that vessels drawing nine feet of water can get through. This has increased river traffic from 33,000,000 ton-miles in 1933 to 800,000,000 ton-miles.

**Flood Control.** There was none before TVA, but now there are nine dams on the main river and twenty-six on tributaries. Annual flood damage savings are estimated to be \$11,000,000. More than half of this is outside the Tennessee Valley and results from the fact that TVA dams help to reduce flood crests on the lower Ohio River and on the Mississippi River south of Cairo, Illinois.

**Fertilizer Development.** TVA operates the government's only large-scale laboratory and experimental center for the development of fertilizers. Private industry is provided with data about new fertilizer products, processes and equipment, and fertilizer not used for tests in various states is sold through cooperatives and private companies to promote soil improvement. TVA's chemical plants produced 60 per cent of the elemental phosphorus required by the

armed forces in World War II and they also made ammonium nitrate for munitions and calcium carbide for synthetic rubber.

**Forestry.** About 250,000,000 trees have been produced at TVA nurseries and planted on private and public lands in a program to develop forest resources. There is organized fire protection in 85 per cent of the Valley forests, and many timberland owners have adopted sustained yield cutting practices to assure that timber will not be cut at too fast a rate. Estimated annual income from Valley forest products is \$350,000,000.

**Recreation.** TVA lakes have opened new recreational areas to millions of people and have created new businesses for suppliers of boats, fishing tackle and other such equipment. More than \$31,000,000 has been invested in recreational facilities by private individuals and companies. Commercial recreational businesses along the lakes take in \$5,000,000 yearly.

**Power.** Power is the paying partner of the TVA program. In 1952 the Tennessee Valley Authority sold more than twenty billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, for gross operating revenues of \$95,000,000 and net revenues of \$25,839,000, representing a 4.7 per cent return on net power investments. TVA has repaid more than \$66,000,000 of investment, either in direct repayments to the Treasury or in redemption of outstanding bonds. An additional \$140,900,000 from power revenues has been reinvested in power facilities.

There are about 1,250,000 users of

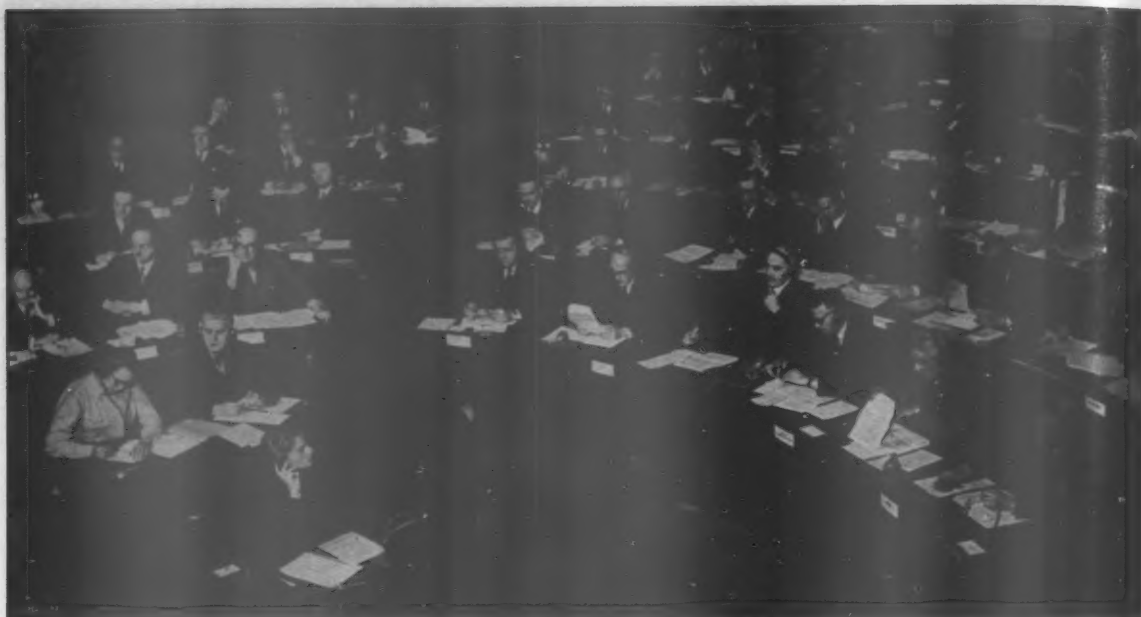
TVA power, about a million of them residential customers who now use an average of 4,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity a year compared with 2,155 for the nation as a whole. TVA customers pay an average of 1.33 cents a kwh, while the average for the nation is 2.77 cents.

Defense facilities operated by the government, such as the atomic energy plant at Oak Ridge, use by far the greatest amounts of TVA's power.

The TVA power system now has a capacity to produce 4,500,000 kilowatts of power. The present expansion program will bring this to 9,600,000 kilowatts by the winter of 1955-56. And if Congress approves funds requested for the coming year, TVA's capacity will rise to 10,477,000 by the end of 1956.

TVA has changed the economy of the Tennessee Valley from one predominantly agricultural to one that is now more dependent on industry. Manufacturing establishments in the area have increased from 5,100 to 7,000 in the past twenty years. Employment in these plants has increased about 72 per cent, compared with a national increase of about 41 per cent.

The economic expansion of the area has been reflected in rising individual incomes of area residents. Average per capita income twenty years ago was only 40 per cent of the national average. Today, while still far from equality with the rest of the nation, per capita income for the Tennessee Valley has risen to 60 per cent of the national average.



*International Labor Organization's Industrial Committee on Building in course of Geneva session*

# I.L.O.'s Industrial Committees

By **GEORGE P. DELANEY**

*A. F. of L. International Representative*



**MR. DELANEY**

**I**N order to understand the industrial committees of the International Labor Organization, it is necessary to recall a few facts concerning the I.L.O. itself.

The I.L.O. is a specialized agency of the United Nations in which the worker, employer and government experts of sixty-five countries meet to collaborate for peace based on social justice. Since 1919 the conferences of the I.L.O. have adopted 100 conventions and ninety-two recommendations, designed to fix international standards for the protection of workers and their families.

The Governing Body, which meets several times a year, is the I.L.O.'s executive board. On it sit eight workers, eight employers, eight representatives of small countries and eight delegates from the nations of chief industrial importance.

The I.L.O.'s industrial committees, of which there are now eight, report to the Governing Body concerning matters which they would like to see communicated to governments, employers, organizations, trade unions or other bodies. They also make proposals to the Governing Body calling for expert studies on pressing problems or for the adoption of conventions, recommendations or other action.

Since 1945 the industrial committees have held more than twenty-five sessions. They were an extremely important factor in solving serious manpower shortages and other problems of



bombed-out industries in Europe immediately after the war. The industrial committees are not legislative bodies and do not pretend to be. But their influence has been a decisive factor in the improvement of labor-management relations in those countries which send delegations to their meetings.

It is interesting to note that V-Day in Europe had not yet occurred when the I.L.O.'s Governing Body, in January, 1945, took its important decision to set up committees dealing with special problems of the more important international industries. This was one of the measures taken to adapt the machinery and methods of the I.L.O. to the urgent needs of the postwar era.

The committees which the Governing Body set up deal with the problems of the following industries: coal mining, inland transport, iron and steel, metal trades, textiles, petroleum, chemical industries and building, civil engineering and public works. All of these industries are international in the sense that they have worldwide ramifications, use raw materials imported from other countries or sell their products in world trade, or for other reasons.

The best possible proof that the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization acted wisely in setting up this new machinery is the way in which other organizations have followed suit. If imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, then it can be said that the I.L.O. industrial committees have been well praised indeed. For instance, the Economic Commission for Europe has set up an Inland Transport Committee, a Coal Mines Committee, a Steel Committee, a Timber Committee and an Industry and Materials Committee. Close contacts are maintained between the I.L.O. and these committees.

Similarly, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East has set up a Committee on Industry and Trade, an Ad Hoc Committee of Experts on Inland Transport and a Subcommittee on Iron and Steel. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation has set up committees for inland transport, coal, oil, iron and steel, non-ferrous metals, timber, textiles, chemical products and machinery.

The industrial committees offer proof that the I.L.O. has kept abreast

of the times. The I.L.O. has shown a realistic understanding of the need to take hold of problems before they get out of hand and to give experts chosen directly from each industry a chance to talk over common problems.

The membership of the industrial committees varies from twelve to thirty-one countries, as follows: Coal Mines, 13; Petroleum, 14; Iron and Steel, 18; Chemical Industries, 18; Metal Trades, 19; Textiles, 23; Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works, 23; and Inland Transport, 31.

Each of the committees at its first session discussed a two-item agenda dealing with:

(1) Social problems of the indus-

mittees had held at least two biennial sessions. A total of 176 resolutions or other conclusions had been adopted. Sixty-nine of these called for studies or investigations to be undertaken by the technical experts in the International Labor Office, thirty-one suggested other forms of action by the I.L.O., eight dealt with matters to be taken up with other international organizations, fifteen contained general suggestions to be communicated to governments and fifty-three made specific recommendations for action to be taken by employers, trade unions or governments.

These latter proposals were broken down as follows: employment problems, 7; training and promotion questions, 9; recruitment problems, 5;



*Workers during recess of Industrial Committee on Oil meeting*

try during the period of transition from war to peace.

(2) Future international cooperation concerning social policy and its economic foundations in the industry.

The conclusions reached made it possible for the I.L.O.'s Governing Body to evaluate the needs of the various industries.

The problems of the industries differed widely. The resolutions adopted, however, fell into the following main categories: manpower, recruitment and training; working conditions, including hours of work and holidays with pay; wages, including methods of remuneration and guaranteed wage plans; full employment and production; safety and health; social security; and industrial relations.

By 1949 all but one of the com-

missions of work, 10; industrial relations, 12; safety measures, 5; social services, 2; miscellaneous, 3.

It will be seen at once that the I.L.O. industrial committees have dealt with down-to-earth, bread-and-butter problems of great importance to the reconstruction and rehabilitation of industry after the war, particularly in bomb-wracked Europe. They are a perfect reply to those who say that the I.L.O. is trying to force high-sounding ideologies on anyone or that the I.L.O. does not deal in a practical way with existing facts.

A noteworthy example of the work accomplished by the I.L.O. as a result of a proposal from an industrial committee was the study of working and living conditions of workers in the oil industry in Iran conducted by a mission from the International Labor

Office in 1950. After the Iranian government seized the Abadan refineries more than a year later, the world's press hailed the I.L.O. report as an accurate and impartial expose of the conditions in the oil fields of Iran. It is too bad that some attention wasn't given to the report in time.

It is hoped that similar investigations may be carried out in various parts of the world on future occasions so that first-hand information may be made available in similar cases of economic and social disturbances dangerous to world peace.

**T**HE activities of the industrial committees, like much of the other work of the I.L.O., involve close and frequent cooperation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies clustered around it.

For instance, some of the studies proposed by the Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee are of common interest to the United Nations and I.L.O. and are part of an integrated program in this field approved both by the U.N. Economic and Social Council and by the I.L.O.'s Governing Body.

The resolution of the Inland Transport Committee on coordination of transport was communicated to the Transport and Communications Commission of the United Nations.

The Economic Commission for Europe asked the I.L.O. to collect information on labor costs in the various branches of transport as a contribution to its studies on transport costs.

The Inland Transport Committee was also called upon to consider the labor clause to be inserted in a standard set of rules for operators engaged in international road transport in Europe. Other industrial committee findings on long-term raw material requirements in the metal trades and the regularization of production and employment at a high level in the iron and steel industry have been communicated to the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

The education of Rhine boatmen's children involved working closely with UNESCO. The International Civil Aviation Organization cooperated in an examination of conditions of employment in civil aviation.

Increasing familiarity with the industrial committees has brought about three results—better understanding of the I.L.O. and of the im-

plications of its decisions; an increased knowledge of the problems and of possible solutions; and a growth in the respect which the participating groups have for one another and for the International Labor Office.

Battles are still fought and misunderstandings still occur, but the meetings of the industrial committees have now become gatherings of people who recognize that, however they may differ, they are all concerned with the welfare of their respective industries and are all responsible for trying to solve the problems of their industries.

It is significant that the majority of resolutions in the industrial committees have been adopted unanimously. Most of the others have been opposed by only a handful of delegates, usually for special reasons.

This fact is the final answer to those who try to show that the International Labor Organization is opposed to the interests of the employers or the free trade unions or that it is trying to foster "socialist" policies. The few persons who object are not representative even of their own groups.

This unanimity or near-unanimity on most occasions could not be a source of satisfaction to organized labor if the teeth were pulled from the resolutions in order to accommodate everybody. What has really happened, instead, is that there has been a large measure of education on all sides and general agreement has been reached on the maximum that was possible at the moment. If that maximum is less than some might have liked, it nevertheless represents a long advance over what the original opponents were willing to accept when the meeting opened.

Another result of the activities of the industrial committees has been a broadening of interest in the work of the I.L.O. During the twenty-five sessions already held, hundreds of delegates and advisers have attended.

While some of these were already associated with the I.L.O., the majority were participating for the first time. The fact that they were dealing in the industrial committees with problems of immediate concern to them in their lives has made their interest more direct and acute.

Discussions regarding the composition of delegations, the line to be fol-

lowed at the meetings and the action to be taken afterward are carried on within the employers' and workers' organizations and the government services, and all who participate in them are brought into personal contact with these international activities.

There are, in fact, large numbers of people all over the world who have been directly concerned with the work of the industrial committees—and therefore of the I.L.O. in general—without ever having attended one of the meetings.

Some of the matters before the industrial committees already have resulted in action by the I.L.O.'s annual conferences. One of these is protection of young workers employed underground in coal mines. Other questions which have been receiving consideration include the protection of young workers in inland navigation and the possibility of revising the hours of work (coal mines) convention and the hours of work and rest periods (road transport) convention of 1939.

An outstanding example of the sort of problems which affect all industries and which are under consideration by the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization is the question of industrial relations. Whatever sort of national machinery may be erected, the problem must be tackled within the various industries according to their own needs and circumstances.

The Inland Transport Committee has adopted a resolution "concerning the principles, methods and machinery by which relations between management and labor in the inland transport industry should be conducted." The resolution dealt with such subjects as freedom of association, the adjustment of labor disputes, determination of conditions of employment and labor-management machinery.

The Metal Trades Committee has before it a long report on human relations which shows the great progress made in relations between workers and employers in the metal trades during the past quarter century.

It is obvious that these industrial committees, being human institutions, are not perfect and never will be. Most of the committees have met only two or three times. Some concern is felt because their conclusions do not involve greater obligations for the individual countries. A way must be

found to give some of the conclusions a greater authority.

Similarly, a way should be found to make these committees more nearly universal. These committees were never meant to deal solely with the problems of highly developed countries but were intended to consider the needs and possibilities of countries in all stages of development. The trend, however, is in the right direction. Since the committees were first formed, two countries have been added, at their own request, to the Coal Mines Committee, seven to the Inland Transport Committee, four to Iron and Steel, six to Metal Trades, six to Textiles, four to Building, Civil Engineering and Public Works, two to Petroleum and four to Chemical Industries. Others are in the process of being added.

Two other I.L.O. committees have adopted the same methods and procedures as the industrial committees.

They are the Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers and the Committee on Work on Plantations.

John Price, chief of the Industrial Committees Division of the I.L.O., has summed up the aims and objects of these committees very well. He says:

"Their first concern, of course, is to bring about an improvement in the conditions in the respective industries. This they attempt to do by way of the collection and diffusion of the facts, by discussing the problems and by seeking agreement on the solutions. By meeting at more or less regular intervals, they are able to give sustained attention to long-term problems and thus to achieve a measure of continuity in their treatment which was lacking before they were formed.

"The solutions themselves are more often recommendations for action to be taken by agreement between the employers and workers than proposals

for legislation. The application of such solutions depends to a very large extent upon the nature of the relations which exist between the employers and workers, and the improvement of these relations is therefore fundamental to the success of the industrial committees' work.

"It is hardly too much to say, indeed, that the promotion of improved industrial relations is the real task of the industrial committees within their immediate field of activity.

"The other main object is wider. It is to assist in promoting world peace and social progress through the machinery of the I.L.O. The industrial committees contribute toward this end by providing opportunities for increasing international contacts and by enabling large numbers of people from different countries not merely to meet but actually to play an active and personal part in the solution of international problems."



## L.L.P.E. Launches Dollar Drive

Labor's League for Political Education starts its 1953 drive for dollars. At A. F. of L. headquarters in the nation's capital, President George Meany (center) and Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler (left) have their dollar bills ready for James L. McDevitt, L.L.P.E.'s director. Members of the A. F. of L. staff followed the A. F. of L.'s officers in enrolling. Every trade unionist is urged to sign up. There is no better investment.



# LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

►Local 471 of the Iron Workers, Milwaukee, has won hourly wage increases and additional fringe benefits for workers at three plants—the Koehring Company, the W. H. Pipkorn Company and the Orley-Meyer Company. The new pacts affect about 425 members.

►Local 238, Teamsters, has won a 10-cent hourly wage increase and substantial employer contributions toward an employee insurance fund for employees of six transfer and storage companies in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Sixty drivers and warehousemen are involved.

►Local 281, Ladies' Garment Workers, has made gains at the Suffolk Knitting Company, Lowell, Mass. Features of the new contract include a general wage boost, retroactive to January, seven paid holidays and employer contributions to the health and retirement funds.

►The Bakery and Confectionery Workers have obtained improvements in their renewed contract with the National Biscuit Company. About 12,500 members will benefit by the new pact, which provides a wage increase, an improved vacation plan and increases in the welfare plan.

►The Glass Bottle Blowers have won a new agreement with the glass container industry. The accord provides percentage and hourly wage increases. The union, one of the oldest in the United States, has been bargaining with employers on an industry-wide basis, with a minimum of difficulties, for many years.

►Local 1929, Upholsterers, scored a victory in negotiations with the National Casket Company, Nashville, Tenn. A retroactive wage increase, twenty-seven wage adjustments and additional paid holidays are the major gains.

►Local 161, Bakery Workers, Reno, Nev., is celebrating its forty-eighth anniversary. This was the union's first local to be organized in Nevada.



*Speakers at New York City Teachers' Guild forum were Boris Shishkin, Helen Cahagan Douglas and Abraham Lefkowitz*

►Two educational courses have been started at Elizabeth, N. J., by Local 675 of the Electrical Workers. One course is being offered in cable splicing. The other is on a special low-voltage system of wiring used in certain business machines. The president of the local union is John O'Connor.

►Local 519, Plumbers, Miami, Fla., has had an active part in establishing a blood bank for Dade County. The blood bank was undertaken as a civic project by organized labor.

►Machinists at the Monarch Machine Tool Company, Sidney, Ohio, have a new contract which provides wage increases, a pension plan and increased insurance benefits.

►David L. Vigneau has succeeded James W. Patterson as president of Local 119, American Federation of Technical Engineers. The local union operates in Providence, R. I.

►Local 555, Cement Masons, has won a wage increase of 17 cents an hour for 200 members in the Portland, Ore., area. The agreement was negotiated with three groups of employers.

►Local 17 of the Teamsters has won a new contract at the Gallagher Transfer Company in Denver. The accord provides a wage increase.

►Local 102 of the Building Service Employees has obtained pay increases for members who are employed in the seven major hotels at San Diego, Calif. More than 90 employees will benefit by the new agreement, which was negotiated with the Hotel and Restaurant Employers Association.

►Local 133, Chemical Workers, has won a wage increase of eight cents an hour and other advances in negotiations with the Portland Gas and Coke Company, Portland, Ore. Almost 600 employees are covered by the agreement.

►Local 644, Electrical Workers, Baytown, Tex., has presented a check to Lee College to finance a scholarship. The money came from voluntary donations by the local's membership. Local 644 has 210 members.

►Local 132 of the Laborers has won an increase of 13 cents hourly for laborers employed by the Minnesota Associated General Contractors on heavy and highway construction and building.

►More than 10,000 elevator operators and doormen in New York City apartment buildings have won a wage increase in an agreement between Local 32-B, Building Service Employees, and the Realty Advisory Board.





**Leaders of American Federation of Television and Radio Artists in New York. Vinton Hayworth is head**

More than 6,000 metal tradesmen employed by 29 "uptown" shops in Portland, Ore., have won a new contract as a result of negotiations between the A. F. of L. metal trades unions and employers. Benefits include a wage increase of 12 cents an hour, triple time for holidays and other improvements in working conditions.

One of the real oldtimers of the American Federation of Technical Engineers has retired. He is David Gray Smith, treasurer of Local 70. Born in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1874, Brother Smith first became interested in the A. F. of L. union at the Puget Sound Navy Yard during the First World War.

Members of Local 647 of the Electrical Workers, Little Rock, Ark., contributed \$500 to the March of Dimes. The local, which covers five of seven divisions of the Arkansas Power and Light Company, has 700 members.

Local 293, Plumbers and Steamfitters, Danville, Ill., has won a 17½-cent hourly wage increase and double time for overtime in a new contract signed with employers.

Local 1500, Retail Clerks, recently scored an overwhelming victory in a representation election in the Atlantic and Pacific stores in Brooklyn.

Two locals of the State, County and Municipal Employees have won salary increases at the Minneapolis Public Library.

Local 37 of the Upholsterers Union has won wage boosts at the Vimco Shop in Philadelphia.

Local 105, American Federation of Technical Engineers, has won a close election in the Boston Office of the Foster-Wheeler Corporation. Local 66 of the same union has a contract with the company in New York City.

District 152, Machinists, has won wage increases and a union shop at International Harvester, Allentown, Pa. The new rates range from \$1.28 to \$1.71 an hour.

Local 2, Retail Clerks, St. Paul, was successful in a representation election among employees of the Miller-Wohl ready-to-wear shop.

Local 167, Building Service Employees, recently completed negotiation of a new wage accord with six major golf clubs in San Francisco. Pay is increased \$15 monthly. In addition, an upgrading of classifications is provided.

Local 114, Retail Clerks, has obtained hourly pay increases in a new contract negotiated with Scott's Store at Hibbing, Minn.

The Brotherhood of Blacksmiths has won an average 25 per cent wage increase at the Green Bay Drop Forge Company, Green Bay, Wis.

## **Last Chance to Save Rent Control**

*(Continued from Page 7)*

Of course, nobody wants controls just for the sake of having controls, least of all the American Federation of Labor. But with the continued housing shortage in many communities throughout the nation, it would be rank injustice to remove from millions of tenants the only protection they have against rent increases that may be completely out of line with any increases there may have been in landlords' costs. That is why in statements recently presented to the House and Senate committees considering rent control extension, the A. F. of L. asked for extension of federal rent controls until June 30, 1954.

The Federation spokesmen also recommended that the present provisions in the law permitting decontrol by request of the local community be continued. This provision applies to all areas under rent control except those which have been certified as critical

defense areas by the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Defense Mobilization. In those areas the continuance of rent controls is not merely a local matter, since their removal might threaten the success of the defense program itself.

This reasonable program was rejected by the Administration and by Congress. Testifying before the Congressional committees on behalf of the Administration, Arthur S. Fleming, Director of Defense Mobilization, called for rent control extension only until September 30, 1953, and continuance of rent control after that date only in areas where there are military installations or atomic energy projects. This is the way Mr. Fleming put it:

"The President in his State of the Union message said, 'I recommend the continuance of the authority for federal control over rents in those com-

munities in which serious housing shortages exist. These are chiefly the so-called defense areas. In these and all areas, the federal government should withdraw from the control of rents as soon as practicable. But before they are removed entirely, each legislature should have full opportunity to take over, within its own state, responsibility for this function.

"It seems to us that the key sentence in this message is the one that states: 'In these and all areas, the federal government should withdraw from the control of rents as soon as practicable.'

"At the same time, however, the President believes that before controls are removed entirely, each legislature should have full opportunity to take over within its own state responsibility for this function.

"If the people in these communities want rent control, then their state legislatures should put them in a position where they can enact control ordinances and have those ordinances administered by their own employees.

"As we see it, the sole question confronting us at this time is what constitutes giving each legislature a 'full opportunity to take over, within its own state, responsibility for this function.' In our judgment, if the authority for federal rent control in these communities is extended until September 30, 1953, each state legislature will have a full opportunity to determine whether or not it desires to take over this function."

Congress decided that local communities would have "a full opportunity" to institute local controls by July 31 and voted to extend them only until that date. Just to make sure that landlords won't "suffer" too much before July 31, Congress voted them an immediate eight per cent increase.

The recommendations of the Administration and the action of Congress are nothing but a shabby trick on millions of tenants who will be helpless in the face of unwarranted rent increases if federal rent controls die on July 31.

It is a shabby trick because tenants in most communities actually have no way of instituting local rent controls even if they are able to secure favorable action from their local city councils. Only four states permit local communities to control rents. (In addition, New York State has a state-

wide rent control program.) Most state legislatures are not in session now. Even if they were, urban communities are grossly under-represented in most legislatures, and the representatives of the rural areas have shown time and time again that they have not the slightest sympathy with problems of urban citizens.

Here is what happened in one state: The 1953 session of the Maryland Legislature passed a law permitting certain cities in the states to establish local rent controls when the federal program expires, but because of a technical defect the law could not take effect. Largely due to the vigorous efforts of Edward H. Johns, a member of the Baltimore Rent Advisory Board and executive secretary of the Baltimore Federation of Labor, the Baltimore Rent Advisory Board passed a resolution requesting the Governor to call a special meeting of the Maryland Legislature to re-pass in proper form the law permitting local rent control.

The Governor refused. He said there was no need to call a special session because federal rent controls have been extended until July 31. He is willing to wait until the 1954 session of the Maryland Legislature to determine whether rent controls are actually needed in Baltimore and other Maryland cities.

That is the situation in Maryland, where the legislature actually passed a rent control law. In other states, the prospects for getting state action

to permit local rent controls are even worse. A. F. of L. members and affiliates throughout the country are carrying on a vigorous drive to secure state or local controls wherever it is possible to obtain the necessary legislative action. But it is clear that in many states the governors and legislatures are completely callous to the desperate need for protection of hundreds of thousands of tenants, and in most areas there will be no local controls if federal rent controls expire.

Congress is still in session. There is still a chance to save federal rent controls. That is why it is so important for American Federation of Labor members and affiliates to marshal maximum support in their local communities for extension of federal rent controls until June 30, 1954.

Deluge your Senators and Congressmen with letters and wires. If they pay visits to your local community, try to phone or see them. Tell them what has happened in other communities where rent controls have been removed prematurely.

If your hands are tied by a hostile state legislature in your efforts to establish local controls, tell your Senators and Congressmen those facts too.

And be sure to tell them that the rent control program has given landlords a fair break and that the federal law permits local communities to remove the controls whenever they feel that they are no longer needed.

## Plantation Workers

(Continued from Page 3)

were not much further advanced in their thinking about social problems of plantation workers than the employer representatives. This characterization does not apply to the representatives of the U.S. government or most of the European government representatives.

The most hopeful aspect of the Havana meeting was the representation of the workers from the plantations. Many of the delegates were educated men with ideals who are providing leadership for the exploited and depressed plantation workers in their respective countries. It was obvious at Havana that the aid and encouragement given by the labor movement to the building of democratic trade un-

ions throughout the world is paying off in the development of responsible leadership.

I was impressed by the work of Luis Alberto Monge, general secretary of the Inter-American Regional Organization, and by that of Herman Patteet, permanent representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to the I.L.O. and the United Nations. The work of these men in planning and in helping to conduct the sugar worker and plantation worker conferences in Havana prior to the opening of the I.L.O. meeting was most helpful. Patteet, as secretary of the workers' group in the I.L.O. meeting, did an outstanding job in the difficult field.

# HIGHER INTEREST RATES HIT HOUSING PROGRAM

By HARRY C. BATES

*Chairman, A. F. of L. Housing Committee*

THE increase in interest rates for houses built with VA guarantees and FHA mortgage insurance announced on May 2 is part and parcel of the wrecking operation which is fast dismantling the nation's housing program. It comes after the House of Representatives has voted to kill the public housing program and to cripple slum clearance and co-operative housing.

The boost in housing interest rates constitutes a complete surrender to the mortgage lenders. Backed by the financial institutions, they have refused to make mortgage loans at already high interest rates in order to force the government to raise the interest rates to still higher levels. By holding back the funds sought by borrowers to finance home construction, they have jeopardized employment and building activity in one of the most vital segments of our economy.

With the announcement by the FHA and VA of the higher interest rates, they have accomplished their purpose. The increased profits of the mortgage lenders will mean increased housing costs for millions of prospective home purchasers.

The increase in the VA interest rate to four and one-half per cent and of the FHA rates to an effective five per cent will make it even more difficult than before for ordinary families to obtain decent housing within their means. For example, a veteran purchasing a VA-guaranteed house involving a twenty-year, \$9000 mortgage will be forced to pay nearly \$30 more each year or almost \$600 additional over the life of the mortgage. The interest boost raises the cost of his house nearly six per cent.

Interest is supposed to be received as a return for undertaking a risk. But with government insurance or guarantees on their loans, the banks

and other lending institutions assume virtually no risk in the mortgage loans they make for FHA and VA housing. Thus the mortgage lending institutions do not have the slightest justification for obtaining an increase in the interest rate.

The home purchaser takes the entire risk. As has been shown by Congressional investigations, inspection of VA and FHA projects is inadequate. Thousands of home purchasers have found after they moved into their new homes—involving in most cases a lifetime investment—that the walls cracked, the basements flooded and other serious defects showed up. In many cases the home buyers had no recourse to obtain correction of these defects.

The home buyer also bears the

entire financial risk. If due to illness, unemployment or other unavoidable causes he is forced to postpone his regular payments, the lending institution may foreclose and the homeowner loses every cent he put into the property.

It is high time we got back to the fundamental principle that housing is not primarily a means of profit for builders and financial institutions but serves first and foremost the families who need homes and will live in them. The houses built must meet *their* basic needs and cost no more than *they* can afford to pay.

If the emasculation of the housing program is permitted to proceed unchallenged, only the higher-income families will be able to afford the houses that are built.

## Workers Want Their Share

ORGANIZED labor in Western Germany will give its support to proposed productivity drives only if the workers and consumers are satisfied that they will benefit by receiving fair shares of the fruits of higher productivity, the West German Federation of Labor has advised Economics Minister Erhard of the Federal Republic.

The Executive Committee of the West German Federation (D.G.B.), in a letter to Herr Erhard, said that it can approve his productivity plans only if the conditions laid down by the D.G.B. are fulfilled. At a recent meeting the Executive Committee decided that the proposed productivity program can be approved by the trade unions only if the labor organizations and the employers first reach agreement on justified pay adjustments resulting from an increase in productivity.

The German Federation of Labor

has emphasized its feeling that employers must not be the sole beneficiaries of higher productivity. The Federation says improvements for the workers by means of plant agreements cannot be realized.

The Executive Committee's letter to the Economics Minister pointed out that the Co-determination Law gives responsibility to both partners in collective bargaining—labor and employers. Unless labor takes part, together with management, the letter stressed, the progress sought under the proposed productivity program cannot be achieved.

Walter Freitag is president of the D.G.B., which is now one of the world's largest federations of free trade unions. Since the fall of Adolf Hitler eight years ago, free labor in Western Germany has made a remarkable comeback. Democratic unionism in Germany was shattered by Hitler when he gained power in 1933.



# To Rebuild a City's Prosperity

By **MARTIN P. DURKIN**  
*U. S. Secretary of Labor*

CONDENSED FROM AN ADDRESS AT LAWRENCE, MASS.

**W**E have thirty-five labor market areas in the country today with six to twenty per cent of their workers without jobs. The nation can ill afford this waste of our human resources at any time, least of all now.

But this is not only a problem. It also presents an opportunity—an opportunity to expanding industry looking for locations for branch plants. Here in Lawrence are reservoirs of skilled, stable work forces. Here, too, are unused amounts of physical energy, of power, of water and of other natural resources. Here are partly utilized community facilities—homes, schools, churches and shopping centers—to house and service this labor force, amid national shortages of many of these things.

Most important of all, perhaps, is the community's welcome to new industry. It is this fact which holds out a real promise for the future of your city, since many companies today are seeking areas into which they can expand.

Indeed, companies already utilizing this and other areas of surplus labor are among the leaders of American industry. It can truly be said that these are centers of industrial opportunity.

But it is primarily the job of the community to bring these assets to the attention of expanding industry. Here are six steps many communities have used successfully:

Step No. 1 is to study your own assets and liabilities, particularly from the point of view of new industry. Industry wants to know all about an area's labor force, its transportation facilities, its utilities, its finances, its industrial sites, its educational and recreational facilities, its bonded indebtedness, for the community itself and as it compares to other communities of comparable size elsewhere.

This self-study should not only turn up the community's assets but also the community's liabilities. One textile



SECRETARY DURKIN

town, after such a survey, found that its two greatest liabilities were its general appearance and its history of poor industrial relations. It is setting about to correct both of them.

The second step to success is money—substantial amounts both for equity capital and for promotional purposes.

Pottsville, Pennsylvania, started its industrial development drive last summer with a house-to-house canvass for loans from the citizens to provide equity capital for the construction of new plants for industry. That town of 23,000 raised \$460,000. Herrin, Illinois, with 11,000 population, has raised over \$800,000 in the last four years for equity capital for similar plant construction. Scranton, Pennsylvania, has raised close to \$4,000,000 in the same way, and this has provided the equity capital for thirty-seven new plants.

In raising money, these cities also raised morale and built community cooperation. They gave tangible evidence of their receptivity to new enterprise.

A third step which many of these areas have undertaken is the construction of new plants even before a new industry has agreed to come in.

The fourth step involves industrial

relations. The most ambitious industrial development program cannot succeed without stable industrial relations in a community.

Most manufacturers look at the industrial relations record of a community on their first visit. They talk to the managements of companies already there to find out what their experience has been.

Some communities have found, in studying their assets and liabilities, that a poor record of labor-management relations was handicapping them in their efforts to attract new industry. They have undertaken community programs aimed at improving their record and have discovered that a good reputation for industrial peace can be made.

The fifth essential step is an effective promotional program. This usually is built around an industrial development committee or corporation, with a full-time director. It is important that your story be told to the managements of industrial enterprises throughout the country.

You cannot hide your light under a bushel in this business. There are times when modesty is a virtue, but this is not one of them.

Finally, the sixth step in your concentration upon new enterprise is not to overlook the possibilities for expanding existing enterprises. Part of every community survey should include a careful study of the growth potential in the small businesses that are already located in town. There may be acres of diamonds in your own backyard.

The future of Lawrence is in the hands of its citizens. In this four-way partnership of community, private industry, state and nation, you in the community must lead the way. Here in Lawrence you have made a most impressive start already toward rebuilding the area's economy to provide the jobs that your people need if they are to be able to continue to make their homes here.



## Wages Come First

(Continued from Page 6)

there to offset the decline in defense spending, markets will become glutted, business will fall off and unemployment will follow.

The ability of workers to buy consumer goods brings us again to the payday and what is in your paycheck. No matter how you look at it, the nub of the question is what buying power means to the American economy. The buying power of all consumers, not just your buying power. Remember, you're the worker who makes \$71.42 for a 41-hour week.

Many workers earn more than you do. But there are plenty of others who earn only half of your salary. They need higher wages to buy the things you already take for granted—telephones, washing machines, automobiles, television sets.

It is the increased income of all these workers that could provide the market for the consumer goods, a market that must be expanded as defense orders decline.

There are today wide differences in the pay of workers in different parts of the country for the same work and the same skill. The principle of equal pay for equal work must apply much more widely than it does today if the purchasing power of most consumers—workers and their families—is to be stabilized. As long as women earn less than men doing the same job, and as long as plants in the North can run away to the South to escape fair wages, as long as substandard wages persist, American labor is not receiving its just share in the benefits of high production of our economy.

If most American workers have the ability to buy the things they produce, the American people can look ahead to an economy of full production and full employment. But just how much ability do American families have to buy the things they need? Figures show that there are a great many people who could use a little extra in their paycheck.

Nearly 30 per cent still do not have a washing machine. Almost half of the families in America don't have a vacuum cleaner. Nearly 17 per cent don't have an electric iron.

Recent figures show that slightly more people are beginning to dip into

their savings to buy the things they need today. This is another indication that our pay envelopes cannot stretch far enough to foot all the bills that they should if we are to keep the American economy prosperous.

That is why your pay envelopes must get a bit bigger. It is important, not only for your kids who want that summer vacation trip, but also for the country as a whole—if the country is to keep on growing.

In a world that contains too many

forced labor camps and knows too many famines, we are proud that the United States can boast of a free organized labor force, working together for full employment of men and machines and a higher standard of living for all Americans.

The lock on the door to the treasure chest of better living is not simple. It is a combination, but it is not a secret combination. We in America have figured it out and we are glad to tell the world. The first turn in the combination is wages high enough to support high production, high employment and a rising standard of living.



At the recent Pennsylvania A. F. of L. convention in Reading. Rep. George Rhodes at left. Beside him, James L. McDevitt

## 'Giveaway' Trend Is Assailed

THE "giveaway" trend in Washington was condemned by William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, in an address at the annual convention of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. He also called for increased activity by the men and women of the trade union movement in the important field of political education.

Mr. Schnitzler told the delegates, who were in session at Reading, that all the gains which have been made in recent decades for the nation's economic and social well-being are now threatened. One example is the planned raid on social security, he declared.

The A. F. of L.'s secretary-treasurer noted that most of the daily newspapers are failing to tell the American people the full facts about the important developments in Washington, but he said that today no wage-earner has any excuse for being uninformed. Mr. Schnitzler pointed to the Federation's enlightening publications, the Frank Edwards and "As We See It" radio programs and the new A. F. of L. television program, "Both Sides," all of which are aimed at keeping workers and citizens "informed on issues that are of vital concern."

The State Federation of Labor, after hearing Mr. Schnitzler, overwhelmingly reiterated its opposition to a state sales tax. Two bills calling for such a tax were before the Legislature at the time of the convention.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**Adlai Stevenson, former Governor of Illinois**—The role of leadership is



new to us. By and large, the United States lived alone—and liked it—so long as this was possible, and somewhat longer than it was desirable. Now America has embarked on a role of leadership which is unique and which places a unique responsibility upon us. The United States is the first great power in history which has dedicated itself to use its strength wholly for peace rather than for selfish expansion. We have forsworn the exciting but deadly triumphs of war and have chosen instead to seek the patient but fruitful triumphs of peace by which alone mankind can move toward freedom and justice. We must set a good example. The image we reflect to the world can only be our own image. We want that image to be an image of sanity, serenity and moral as well as economic and military strength, of freedom and justice and confidence.

**James G. Cross, president, Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union**—



Our union, in the past, has been favored with able men in posts at all levels. This good fortune has not been a coincidence but the direct result of an interested, intelligent membership demanding the best in its representatives. If there is any formula for successful labor leadership, the basic ingredient is humility. In organized labor a leader is created by his union's members. If he should lose contact with their thinking and their feelings, a vital circuit is broken and he has lost his only source of strength. We hear a lot about the complexities of labor organization in our nation, about union leaders, charter affiliations and similar bits of confusing

phraseology. Undoubtedly the public—and sometimes union members themselves—cannot put a finger on what a union is. Actually the theory of unionism is no more complex than our theory of democratic government. Our government is basically the joining together of individuals, cities and states for attainment of mutually desired political objectives. Our labor union is a joining of individuals for attainment of mutually desired economic goals. In short, the union is you. As our government derives its strength and authority at the individual level, so does our union draw its life breath from the membership.

**George L. Googe, vice-president, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union**—



From my observation and experience in the trade union movement, there is nothing so vital to the future welfare of the masses who work for a living on this continent as the continued development of vocational education. It is the foundation of the future productivity and earning power of the men and women who make up the work force of this great nation of ours. For years antedating the passage of the Smith-Hughes Law, labor insisted that representative control by employers, labor and the public should be written into the law and into the subsequent state laws passed in cooperation with the Smith-Hughes program. Today labor believes that the quicker we can return to the original conception of the tripartite initiation and control of vocational education by employers, labor and the public, rather than the present system, the better. Labor and employers should be represented on the administrative boards of control. When we haven't that opportunity by statute, we believe the next best thing is for the administrators to cooperate with the existing advisory committees. And we believe that the advisory committees should be made up of people

who actually work, who understand and are interested and have a cause to serve in developing vocational education. We also believe that it is the employers who sweat to meet their payrolls who should serve on those committees, rather than the professional trade association secretaries.

**Sam J. Byers, president, Laundry Workers International Union**—When



demagogues fan hatred, they are fanning a fire that has already been started. Ordinarily the damage is done in the home. And here's how it usually happens: The child hears his parents make an unjust or cruel remark against someone and then say, "That's just like a —" (whatever the nationality or the religion or the race or the group may be). Nine times out of ten the parent didn't mean what he or she said. But the child, to whom that parent is the last word in truth, hears—and believes. The men and women of organized labor have suffered so much from this kind of misunderstanding about their own aims and aspirations that they, of all people, should be the first to guard their own tongues that their children may grow up without hatred and with the positive understanding that all men are their brothers.

**Leonor Sullivan, Congresswoman from Missouri**—Local communities



are running into increasing trouble meeting the expenses of educating a rapidly growing school population. Buildings are old, outmoded and have to be replaced. Teachers in locality after locality are still seriously underpaid. In many cases they get less than street cleaners. I have vigorously opposed the "tidelands" bill, for millions and millions of dollars could be gained every year if offshore properties were developed along logical conservation lines, and this money could be used for the education of children in all parts of the country and to build safer, more adequately staffed schools.

# A Pretty Good Showing

IT WAS the beautiful month of May. The air was warm and bright. School was an exciting place. There were parties and picnics to plan for, as well as the coming examinations. Also there were plans to be made for the summer vacation.

"It looks to me as though we have more to do than we can shake a stick at," said Roger, as he sipped a soda.

"Tis always thus," observed Elizabeth. "Especially toward the last of school. Just think! Only three more weeks, then final exams, and then Junior High graduation."

The talk soon turned to the athletic meet which was to be held during graduation week.

"It's funny, but I have a feeling about the meet that worries me," said Roger. "If only Nate hadn't hurt his ankle, I wouldn't be so jumpy about our Junior Union team." He was referring to their star runner, who had suffered his injury two weeks before.

"He'll be able to run," Pete predicted. "He was out for practice this afternoon."

"Yes, but the coach wouldn't let him work out," said Sid. "He sent him back. I guess it's going to be an even draw whether or not he gets to run for us."

"Then I guess Dallas will run for us," said Pete. "Dal's good. He has been showing a lot of form this last week."

Soon the boys left the snack bar and proceeded toward their homes. Pete and Roger went in the same direction, so they continued their conversation.

"Just so one of the Junior Union boys gets to run," said Roger. "Pauline made the debating team. Elizabeth is in the class play. If Nate or Dal runs, we'll have someone on the track team. Five of our members got their football and baseball letters."

"We've pretty good all-round representation," said Pete. "No other club

or organization can make a better showing than we can. Even the Red and Gold Club doesn't have as many honors as we have."

"And I think we have more members on the Honor Roll than any other group," remarked Roger. "The way those girls showed up in the last couple of tests made us boys buckle down and get some good grades."

"One of our aims is to have outstanding members," said Pete. "We train for good citizenship when we do good work in school. That's what I like about Mr. Ketcham. He makes school important, and he even makes me want to get good grades and go out for activities so that we'll all benefit by it. He's the one who got me to go out for the Glee Club. Well, so long. See you tomorrow." And Pete turned in at his own house.

Roger went on his way. Turning at the next corner, he met Virginia coming from Pauline's house.

"I thought you would be home hours ago," said the girl.

"Got talking," said Roger. "Say, I think our Junior Union is going to make a pretty good showing on Class Day."

"We did last year. And we've accomplished a lot more this year because we've tried harder. I do hope we get at least a couple of the prizes."

"I think we will," said Roger.

It was as the girls and boys had said. There was almost too much to do, and it seemed as if there were not enough hours in the day to do the many things they had before them. However, the time passed swiftly and the week of finals, hectic as it was, passed also.

Class Day dawned clear and beautiful. There were to be several main events. Beginning in the morning at the assembly period, the classes, wearing armbands of their respective class colors, took their seats. At this time the awards of outstanding merit were

given. It was a day of triumph for the Junior Union, because so many of the members made good showings, and the trophies were proudly received by several of the members for taking part in the various school and class activities, thereby bringing a little extra glory to their group.

At noon there were picnics at Elm Grove. The athletic meet took place later in the afternoon. Nate was not in the running, but Dallas, who took his place, inspired by Nate's encouragement, went in and captured first place in the 100-yard dash. He scored second in two other events. Nate was allowed to throw in the discus throw and won second there, although throwing was not his specialty.

From 5 until 9 there was a lull in the program. Practically everyone took this time to rest up a little and have supper, then dress for the High-Ball, as the traditional graduation dance was called.

At intermission of the ball the awards won in the athletic meet were given.

Also—and to the girls the most important event of all—there was the crowning of the class queen. This young lady was chosen by her classmates by secret ballot. No one but the judges knew who it would be until the votes were counted and announced.

As the drums rolled for quiet, Mr. Ketcham, the faculty adviser of the graduating class, made the announcement which was so eagerly awaited. A great cheer went up as Elizabeth's name was called. Amid all the crowd no one was more surprised than Elizabeth as she was led to the platform to have the dainty coronet placed lightly upon her flaxen curls.

"Another great honor for us," said Roger, beaming proudly. After all, Elizabeth was his date. "Another honor won by the Junior Unionists of the Class of 1953."



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